

Message Text

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TAGS: PINT,CH

SUBJECT: DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT -THE CHINESE DILEMMA

REF: A. HONG KONG 1733; B. PEKING

1. THE CAMPAIGN TO STUDY THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT LAUNCHED WITH A FEBRUARY 7 PEOPLE'S DAILY EDITORIAL AND A NEW, ALMOST IMPERIAL INSTRUCTION FROM CHAIRMAN MAO HAS PRODUCED A PROPAGANDA OUTPOURING OF A MAGNITUDE UNMATCHED SINCE THE EARLY MONTHS OF THE CAMPAIGN TO CRITICIZE LIN BIAO AND CONFUCIUS. THERE ARE A VARIETY OF VIEWS WITHIN PEKING'S CHINA WATCHING COMMUNITY OVER THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE CAMPAIGN, AND WE SUSPECT THAT THE CHINESE MAN ON THE STREET MAY EQUALLY BE UNSURE OF THE IMPACT ON HIS INTERESTS OF MAO'S NEW INSTRUCTION. THIS MESSAGE IS AN INITIAL ATTEMPT TO ASSESS THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE CAMPAIGN FOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STABILITY IN CHINA.

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2. A REVIEW OF THE DOCUMENTS OF THE FOURTH NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS,

IN PARTICULAR CHANG CHUN-CHIAO'S REPORT ON THE REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION, SUGGESTS THAT THE PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP CAMPAIGN WAS PROBABLY ALREADY DESIGNED AND READY FOR LAUNCHING AT THE TIME OF THE CONGRESS. IN LIGHT OF MAO'S NEW INSTRUCTION TO STUDY THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, THE REVISION OF ARTICLE I OF THE CONSTITUTION WHICH CHANGES THE DESCRIPTION OF THE PRC FROM A "PEOPLE'S

DEMOCRATIC STATE" TO A "SOCIALIST STATE OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT" TAKES ON GREATER SIGNIFICANCE. CHINA NOW APPEARS TO BE PREPARING ITS POPULACE TO UNDERSTAND THE IMPLICATIONS OF THIS CHANGE. HAVING LAID THE GROUNDWORK OVER THE PAST YEAR BY CRITICISM OF ELEMENTS IN THE SUPERSTRUCTURE, CADRES AND MILITARY LEADERS, AN BH IDEOLOGICAL PREPARATIONS THROUGH SUCH THINGS AS THE THEORETICAL STUDY GROUPS AND POLITICAL NIGHT SCHOOLS, THE REGIME NOW APPEARS TO BE ADDRESSING ITSELF MORE DIRECTLY TO THE GRASSROOTS LEVELS.

3. AT THE NPC CHINA'S LEADERS IN EFFECT CLAIMED THAT THE PRC HAS BASICALLY RESOLVED ITS IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS OF ADEQUATELY FEEDING, CLOTHING AND HOUSING ITS POPULACE. CHOU EN-LAI ANNOUNCED A MAJOR NEW PLAN TO BRING CHINA INTO THE FRONT RANKS ON INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS IN TWENTY YEARS. IN UNDERTAKING THIS TASK, HOWEVER, CHINA'S LEADERSHIP IS FACED WITH A CONTRADICTION IN ATTEMPTING SUBSTANTIALLY TO INCREASE PRODUCTION WHILE

AT THE SAME TIME AVOIDING THE PITFALLS OF GREATER MATERIAL INCENTIVES AND EMPHASIS ON TECHNICAL SKILLS OVER POLITICAL AWARENESS. THE PRESENT CAMPAIGN SEEMS TO BE A PART OF THE EFFORT TO COPE WITH THIS DILEMMA. AT THE SAME TIME, THE CAMPAIGN HAS IMPORTANT SHORT TERM IMPLICATIONS, NOT ONLY IN TERMS OF RESTORING CONTROL IN THE WAKE OF P'I-LIN P'I-KUNG, BUT ALSO IN CORRECTING TENDENCIES TO EMPAND MATERIAL INCENTIVES THAT WERE A PRODUCT OF LAST YEAR'S PRODUCTION DRIVE. WE ALSO POSTULATE THAT THERE HAS BEEN A GROWING DESIRE FOR A GENERAL IMPROVEMENT IN LIVING STANDARDS, WHICH IS NOT NOW FEASIBLE, AND THE MASSES ARE INSTEAD BEING TOLD TO EXPECT HARDER WORK AND LONGER HOURS OUT LITTLE IN WAY OF MATERIAL REWARD FOR THEIR ENNORTS.

4. THE MOVEMENT TO STUDY THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT GOES
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WELL BEYOND

A SIMPLE DEBATE OVER INCENTIVES OR "RED VERSUS EXPERT", HOWEVER, AND IS AIMED AS WELL AT "SPONTANEOUS TENDENCIES TOWAR CAPITALISM" WHICH PERSIST THROUGHOUT THE SOCIETY. THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT, AS THE VEHICLE FOR THE TRANSITION THROUGH THE SOCIALIST PERIOD TOWARD COMMUNISM, WILL BE USED TO SQUEEZE THOSE ELEMENTS IN THE BUREAUCRACY AND IN SOCIETY AT LARGE WHICH RETAIN

BOURGEOIS HABITS AND TENDENCIES. JUDGING FROM THE ARTICLES WHICH HAVE APPEARED THUS FAR, THESE ELEMENTS ARE MORE PERVASIVE THAN THE FIVE PERCENT OF THE POPULATION NORMALLY REFERRED TO WHEN SPEAKING OF THE NECESSITY FOR EXERCISING PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP. IN THIS CONTEXT, WE NOTE THAT WHILE ONE ARTICLE IN THE RECENT ISSUE OF RED FLAG IS DEVOTED TO "DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM", TRADITIONALLY THE MEANS FOR RULING THE NINETY-FIVE PERCENT OF THE POPULACE WHICH CONSTITUTE THE "BROAD MASSES," THE EMPHASIS IN NEARLY ALL OF THE PROPAGANDA ON THE CAMPAIGN IS CLEARLY ON THE MORE COERCIVE DICTATORSHIP THEME AND THE NECESSITY TO FOLLOW ORDERS. IN IDEOLOGICAL TERMS, THE STRIKING NATURE OF THE CAMPAIGN THIS FAR HAS BEEN THE HEAVY RELIANCE ON THE WRITINGS OF MARX, ENGELS AND LENIN. FOR EXAMPLE, PEOPLE'S DAILY FOR FEBRUARY 22 CARRIES THREE AND A HALF PAGES OF SELECTED QUOTATIONS FROM THE THREE PAGES OF COMMUNISM ALL DEALING WITH THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT. THIS HARDLY INDICATES A DIMINUTION OF MAO'S STATURE AS POLITICAL PHILOSOPHER, HOWEVER, AND THE VERY NATURE OF THE CALL TO STUDY THE WORKS OF MARX, ENGELS AND LENIN SUGGESTS IT WAS THE PERSONAL INITIATIVE OF THE CHAIRMAN.

5. OBVIOUSLY, THE IMPACT OF THE CAMPAIGN TO STUDY THE PROLETARIAN DICTATORSHIP WILL DEPEND IN LARGE MEASURE ON THE APPLICATION ON ITS PRINCIPLES TO CONCRETE SITUATIONS. WHILE WE AGREE WITH CONGEN HONG KONG (REF A) THAT INCREASED DISCIPLINE IS A STRONG UNDERLYING THEME OF THE CAMPAIGN, WE CAN ALSO SEE THE SEEDS OF POTENTIAL DISRUPTION IF,

FOR EXAMPLE, PRESSURES AGAINST MATERIAL INCENTIVES AND SMALL SCALE PRODUCERS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE ARE SIGNIFICANTLY STEPPED UP AND IF STEPS ARE TAKEN TO NARROW THE GAP IN WAGE SCALES IN THE CITIES. THE CAMPAIGN MAY ALSO PRODUCE NEW STRAINS AMONG PROVINCIAL CADRE, SOME OF WHOM TNEVSTABLY WILL BE FOUND TO BE AMONG THOSE HAVING BUREAUCRATIC TENDENCIES REQUIRING THAT DICTATORSHIP BE EXERCISED OVER CONFIDENTIAL

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THEM BY THE PROLETARIAT.

6. IN SUM, WE DO NOT FORESEE A RADICAL CHANGE IN THE STATUS QUO, OIT RATHER A TIGHTENING OF CONTROLS OVER THOSE ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIETY WHICH LEAD TO CAPITALIST TENDENCIES. OVER THE SHORT RUN WE WOULD EXPECT THE RESTRICTION OF "BOURGEOIS RIGHTS" TO BE LIMITED TO SUCH MEASURES AS CALLS FOR INCREASED VOLUNTARY WORK ON HOLIDAYS, GREATER CADRE PARTICIPATION IN PRODUCTIVE LABOR, AND HOLDING THE LINE AGAINST PRESSURES FOR MORE MATERIAL INCENTIVES WHILE GRADUALLY WORKING TOWARD A MORE EGALITARIAN SYSTEM. OVER THE LONGER TERM, HOWEVER, WE CONTINUE TO FEEL THAT THE PRC CANNOT ACHIEVE RAPID INDUSTRIAL GROWTH WITHOUT OFFERING THE POPULACE SOMETHING MORE THAN IDEOLOGICAL STIMULATION. HOW TO RESOLVE THIS DILEMMA WILL VERY LIKELY CONTINUE TO BE THE FOCUS OF DEBATE IN THE COMING MONTHS.

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